see one of Wordsworth's few jokes so often taken in deadly earnest. Moreover, it is a pity not to recognize here a flash of sportive and vigorous dramatic ability in this predominantly philosophical poet. Most serious is such a literal-minded critic's loss of this, perhaps the most delightful, encounter which Wordsworth has arranged for his readers, with the old mad-cap Matthew.

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FURTHER INTERPRETATIONS OF MILTON

In my endeavor to meet the doubts of certain scholarly gentlemen as to some of my recent conclusions in the interpretation of Milton, *MLN.* XXXV, 441, facts and considerations have presented themselves which seem to justify further request for the hospitality of these pages.

1. Milton's "star that bids the shepherd fold" (*Comus* 93) is often associated by the annotators with Shakespeare's "unfolding star" (*Meas. for Meas.* IV. ii, 218), and fittingly enough, for they are parts of the same conception. In my former communication I drew attention to the fact that in the Spring the constellation Leo (represented by the bright star Regulus) rises to the zenith as Aries sinks in the west. This suggests poetically the peril that causes the folding of the flock.

The unfolding star is Sirius (Canis Major), perhaps reinforced by Procyon (Canis Minor), which at the same season rises before Aries. Since the lion is the natural enemy of the flock as the dog is its natural protector, the former announces danger, the latter proclaims safety.

2. In the lines *On the Death of a Fair Infant* a more comprehensive view still more positively rejects the bracketed (Mercy) of line 53.

A note in Dr. Thomas Newton's edition (1753) says, "In some editions the title runs thus, *On the Death of a Fair Infant a Nephew of his dying of a cough;* but the sequel shows plainly that the child was not a nephew but a niece and consequently a daughter of his elder sister Anna Milton (Phillips)." But the

sequel is not so conclusive on this point as has been imagined. In the gross sense, of course, stern, masculine Winter wanted to wed a maiden, not a youth. The immaturity need not be considered. However, the body was not that which he coveted and snatched away, but the *anima,* soul, or physical life, and this is feminine whether in youth or maiden. (It is to be hoped that Milton's sister also understood so much Latin.) As we shall see, a part of the poem depends for its best sense upon the assumption that the child was a boy. Besides it is easier to understand how nephew was erroneously dropped than how it was erroneously inserted at first.

Of the precise words of line 53 I have rejected the bracketed (Mercy) and explained them as referring to Ganymede. "Would not Hylas do?" asks a cautious scholar. "Not so well," I maintain, "for he lacks that essential smile and is not associated with 'that heavenly brood' from which he ought to come." But we shall have a more convincing reason.

No one has deemed necessary a fuller identification of the "crowned Matron" who follows. She is received as a personification of Truth, sufficiently identified by the poet himself. She does indeed resemble Spenser's Una but she is more. She must have a place in the myths like her associates. She is Philosophy the Matron by eminence "the towered Cybele, mother of a hundred gods," all light-bearing divinities, "that heavenly brood" presently mentioned. Her temple at Athens was called the Μητρῶον; she is white-robed, for the light is her garment (*Ps.* CIV. 2). Her priests are called Galli (cocks) because of their office in heralding the day. Her name, Cybele or Cybebe, was apparently related by the young poet with κύβη or κεφαλή, that is, the head, the citadel of Truth's empire.

What was Milton's purpose in these references? We have seen that there is at least an even likelihood that the babe was a boy. Its tentative identification successively with a star (predominantly masculine), a goddess, a maid, a youth, a matron, one of the heavenly brood (divided between the sexes) and one of the "golden-winged host" of angels (presumably all masculine) shows how little was made of the sex relation.

Nothing is more usual at the death of a child than to forecast what it would have become if it had grown to manhood. Inasmuch as the Infant's father "held a situation in the Crown Office in

Chancery" what would be more natural than to expect the child at maturity to fill the place of a jurist? This would have been logical destiny, if the spirit of Astraea had grown up within the child. The Infant's uncle was a poet in embryo and more than that in prospect; the talent was in the blood: what could forbid the hope that the spirit of Ganymede fostered within the child would make him a poet, a purveyor of the nectar of the gods? Milton, when he wrote, was imbibing Greek philosophy at Cambridge with unconquerable zest; what if the same spirit of Cybele should develop in the child and make him a philosopher or one of the honored dons of the university? The departments from which to choose are as numerous as the divine offspring of the "crowned matron."

To return to the second possibility—that the Infant might become a poet. There are two main sources of inspiration, very real and positive sources, Joy and Sorrow. Milton has many studies of their varied manifestations in his poems early and late. They generally appear under names familiar in mythology, Pan and Sylvanus, Urania and Calliope, Ganymede and Hylas, Fauns and Nymphs. In more extended and intimate comparison they are portrayed in *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*. The home of these two passions in the heart is hinted in *Par. Lost* IV. 705-8 based on *Prov.* XIV. 10. Ganymede and Hylas are paired in *Eleg. Sept.* 21-24. Ganymede, as his name indicates, is Joy; Hylas (ὕλη, wood), scarcely less beautiful and no less loved, is related to the sombre Sylvanus, like him associated with the Nymphs (Grief) and by them caught bathing in a shaded pool and born away into Neptune's realm, somewhat as Orpheus (the Bereaved), another variant of Sorrow, is carried "down the swift Hebrus to the Lesbian shore." Ganymede (Joy) is rapt by Jove's eagle into the sky and has his permanent abode in Olympus dispensing nectar to the gods. Is it credible that Milton could have preferred the sorrowful to the joyous mood for his nephew—Hylas to Ganymede?

A common doctrine is, that of the two portraits, *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, Milton resembled the latter. But it will hardly be denied that in his comparisons he steadfastly set the former in the higher place both of origin and power. Joy in Heaven is Euphrosyne, one of the Graces. Melancholy has no name there because she has no residence. Orpheus by his pathos was able to draw

"iron tears down Pluto's cheek" and wring a conditional release of his wife; but a song of joy in that dismal world would have revolutionized it and forced the grim monarch "to have quite set free the half-regained Eurydice."

Milton is in fact the most cheerful of poets; he utters a note of triumph amid the saddest personal privations and over the most disastrous events. This is not forced but spontaneous. The joy gushes from the base of his life like a fountain fed from the sky. The source is revealed in the consolation offered his sister in the closing lines of this poem.

It remains only to note that all who are designated, the jurist or statesman, the poet, the philosopher, or teacher, are "let down in cloudy throne to do the world some good." They are kings and though of ill-defined authority rule the spirit more effectually than many who sit on thrones of royal state.

3. On lines 76, 77 Masson remarks: "One can hardly say that this prophecy was fulfilled in Edward Phillips and John Phillips, Milton's nephews, the brothers of the fair Infant born after her (his?) death. Yet they are both remembered on their uncle's account." Masson must have felt—his hesitation shows it—that of all times at such a time as this professed divination with respect to his sister's natural descendants, had Milton been weak enough to attempt it, would have been a mockery. If we turn to the prophecy of *Isaiah* (Chap. LIV-LVI) we find consolations for childlessness whose exalted beauty and tenderness must have strongly appealed to Milton and impelled their application to his sister under the same conditions as those that occasioned their first utterance. The culmination of the promise is in chap. LVI. 5—"Even unto them will I give in my house and within my wall a place and a name better than of sons and daughters: I will give them an everlasting name that will not be cut off." Here is something far more substantial than poetic invention; it covers the ground of the scriptural promise even to its emphatic redundancy.

4. Let me venture in addition to the foregoing an interpretation of a well-known but poorly understood passage beginning with the fiftieth line of *Lycidas*. The first thing requiring settlement is the location of the *steep* in line 52. Why did Milton here use a descriptive term instead of the name as in the case of the other two localities? Was it not because he considered the steep to be

too well known to require naming? And yet editors have groped uncertainly for "it" among the unfamiliar mountains of Wales. An American school-boy knows the main features of the Giant's Causeway whose eastward thrust produces the basaltic columns of Fairhead, the chief promontory of the Irish coast, 550 feet high and directly ahead of the doomed vessel as it issued from the Chester estuary. Like Mona and the Dee the vicinity of the Causeway is replete with relics of the Druids. "The principal cairns are—one on Colin mountain near Lisburn and one on Slieve True near Carrickfergus; and two on Colinward. The cromlechs most worthy of notice are—one near Cairngrainey to the north-east of the old road from Belfast to Temple-Patrick; the large cromlech at Mount Druid, near Ballintoy, and one at the northern extremity of Island Magee. The mounts, forts and intrenchments are very numerous" etc., etc.—(*Encyc. Brit.* art. Antrim). The identification even without the name seems as perfect as that of Mona and the Dee.

The nymphs at play are not, as some teach, the Muses, but Nereids, maidens of the sea, whose presence is manifested in mists and clouds and is indicative of the weather as propitious or threatening. Had any of these appeared in their accustomed haunts—a heavy fog on the Dee or storm clouds in the direction of Fairhead or Mona—the mariners might have taken warning and postponed the voyage or at least felt their way cautiously instead of being lulled into carelessness by sly, "*sleek Panope,*" the calm, fair weather that did in fact prevail.

If, as Dryden oracularly proclaimed, "Milton saw nature only through the spectacles of books," how, it may modestly be asked, did Dryden and his successors view it? I question whether he ever had first-hand knowledge, for instance, of the "Lydian measures" exploited in his *Alexander's Feast* or even had an adequate idea of what they were.

5. *L'Allegro,* line 136-. Having gone thus far at the end of the preceding note I will risk the further opinion that in the "Lydian airs" Milton complements his favorite Pindar, who frequently using Lydian metres, wrote an immense number of lyric poems—triumphal odes, hymns to the gods, convivial and dancing songs, celebrations of victory at the great games, including a description of the Islands of the Blest—all in harmony with the vivacious and joyous spirit of cheerfulness and a perfect antidote, one would

think, to "eating cares." He calls these "Lydian" rather than "Dorian" or "Æolian" airs, perhaps because of the varieties of Pindar's metres and the versatility of his genius resembling the winding flow of the Maeander, the chief river of Lydia.

Anyone who has seen the copy of Pindar in the Harvard Library with its copious notes in Milton's own hand will easily appreciate this expression of our English poet's delight in the old Greek lyrist.

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A SOURCE FOR *GULLIVER'S TRAVELS*

It has long been a commonplace of literary criticism to say that *Gulliver's Travels* is like the *True History* of Lucian, though very little effort has been made to define the relationship between the two. Every edition of Gulliver mentions Lucian; two or three individual parallels have been pointed out by Hime in his monograph, *Lucian—The Syrian Satirist,* and by Pietro Toldo in an article entitled "Swift and Rabelais," in the *Revue des Etudes Rabelaisiennes,* for 1906; but the only full study of the sources of *Gulliver* (a German thesis by Borkowsky in *Anglia,* XV) makes no mention of Lucian whatsoever. Swift's debt to Lucian was recognized, however, by his own contemporaries. It is asserted in a conversation between Booth and the Unknown Author in Fielding's *Amelia;* and in dialogues of the dead by both Lyttelton and Voltaire, Swift is confronted by the resurrected Lucian, who proceeds to criticize *Gulliver,* comparing it to his own *True History.*

That Lucian's romance is the remote origin of the satiric *Voyages Imaginaires* cannot be questioned. In addition there are quite marked parallels to the work of Swift, several of which have not been noted before. There is a general similarity in the prefatory matter. Both Gulliver and Lucian despise falsified "Travels," and aim to be admired by posterity for their singular veracity. Both boast that they record plain facts without bias or prejudice. Both promise to omit technical descriptions and to avoid pedantic display of knowledge. Within the narrative, also, there are parallels in situation and satire. The travellers are hospitably received; they learn that the inhabitants are engaged in a desperate war;